20c MAY 21, 1951

New Republic

GERMANY ARMS THE EAST

By JEAN PAJUS

FATTENING ON FUTURES

By EDWIN A. LAHEY

IS MacARTHUR WINNING?

An EDITORIAL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STOP THE FAMINE IN INDIA!

An Appeal To NEW REPUBLIC Readers

Famine is a horrible disaster. There is famine now in Bihar and Madras. In the dry season this summer, hundreds of thousands of men and women and children will die in India unless America ships more grain.

For six month America has known that famine was imminent in India. For six months, thanks to a coalition of heartless men in Congress, and to an indifferent public that tolerates them, the United States has talked and failed to act.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee recommended a grant of grain to India. The House Rules Committee guided by Eugene Cox of Georgia blocked the action. Three times aid to India has been scheduled for debate. Three times action has been stalled. Each day's delay condemns hundreds more to death.

This week the House may enact or kill aid to India. Cox swears that the bill will be killed or crippled. If he succeeds, not only famine will triumph in India. The United States and the ideas we stand for will suffer a terrible blow throughout Asia.

We appeal to you—read your newspapers for latest developments; wire your Congressman to vote for the AID TO INDIA bill if there is still time. If action is taken by the House; wire your Senator. *You can save hundreds of lives!*

THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR MAY 21, 1951

5 Is MacArthur Winning?, An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Are Sources Secret?
6 Schools Are Expendable
7 A duPont's Taxes
7 Tariffs at Torquay
7 Revolt in China
7 Another Loyalty Oath
8 Pied Pipers in Brown
8 Nehru's Neutrality
10 Outside America
11 Fattening on Futures, by Edwin A. Lahey
13 Minucius to MacArthur
14 Germany Arms the East, by Jean Pajus
17 Harold L. Ickes
18 Books:
18 Two Prescriptions for a Sick World, by Frederick Kuh
19 "Journey for Our Time," reviewed by Hans Kohn
19 "The Villa Diana," reviewed by Percy Winner
20 Fiction Parade
21 Music
22 Movies

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller
ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling
REPORTER: Jean Begeman
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY ASSISTANTS: Marjorie Stanley, Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1951, IN THE U. S. A. BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

NOTHING like the present collapse of Administration control in Congress has been seen since Hoover's day. All that was happening in 1933 was the collapse of the banks, but today a war is on. Congress has substituted investigation for legislation. Truman's prestige is near bottom; what exists is a stalemate, a sit-down strike. We are in one of those rather horrifying periods, frequently occurring at the end of a second term, when the Ship of State drifts. Nobody is in control.

Truman lacks strong leadership, but it goes deeper than that. The world situation cries for belt-tightening in America — greater sacrifice. Congress doesn't believe the voters are ready for it and, therefore, is stalling. On the tax bill, the draft bill and the Defense Production Act (renewal of controls) Congress is going to temporize. It can be said fairly certainly that Congress is not going to raise enough taxes to pay as you go, authorize enough controls to halt inflation, or draft enough soldiers to make the country safe.

The public is so punch drunk with investigations that it has not yet caught on to the Washington deadlock. It sees isolated instances, not the whole picture. Congress has enough unfinished work now to last till Christmas and will jettison much of it. Its contempt for Truman is explicit. It cut his normal emergency fund from $25 million to $1 million, threatens a rider against Dean Acheson's salary, flatly rejects his proposal to decentralize Washington as a safeguard against A-bomb attack, shelved an enabling act needed to allow the Commission on Internal Security under Admiral Nimitz to get to work on subversives. Some of these vetoes will be relaxed later, but others will be added.

The House cut the $400 million appropriation for civilian defense in half; the Senate committee recommends only a fifth of what was requested. The House cut the fund to extend the Voice of America by 90 percent. Five months of Truman pleas for grain for India got no action until Russia moved in and stole the show. Here is the typical story on public housing (desperately needed in congested defense areas where labor turnover is fast because of exorbitant rents): Truman voluntarily cut the present 135,000 - a - year ceiling on new units to 75,000; a House committee cut this to 50,000; the House approved only 5,000 units. New Deal legislation for reclamation, public power, public transmission lines are, of course, out. So far as we can see, this situation will continue. Congress is hiding behind an unrealistic "economy drive" rather than imposing sacrifices which it believes the man in the street doesn't want.

Will Truman benefit from the MacArthur episode? He might, though at the cost of partisan hatred. Truman has committed the unforgivable sin of being right. Every reasonable person can see now that MacArthur had to go: he was arrogantly overbold and besides that had a gold-braided prose style which (in the opinion of this column) was enough to condemn him anyway. But for those less sensitive to literary nuances, the facts now show that his military judgment was unsound. When members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff succeed Marshall in testimony, more of this will be revealed. The difficulty in all of this is that the despised, little Harry Truman was right about it all the time. He went more than half-way across the Pacific to conciliate the General; he wrote him generously on January 13; he finally fired MacArthur only when, in addition to showing bad military judgment, he meddled in domestic politics. The mob ovation to the intoxicating MacArthur scared conserva-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive editors; these supposed leaders of public opinion are now coming out of their bomb shelters to write "Yes, but—" editorials. The good sense of the American people had begun to appraise the General, however, well before the cautious editors heard the "All clear."

Donald Dawson on the witness stand last week was calm, confident and composed. A single, blazing portable spotlight played on him. He did not wilt. In the small, crowded committee room, cameramen with polished aluminum reflectors sat around his chair in a semicircle waiting hungrily, like so many vultures, for the exciting moment that never came. The traditional witness' glass of water gathered bubbles on the side—untouched. Yet the Dawson appearance was a tragedy. Dawson's honor had been impugned; it seems incredible that he was not sent up from the White House to testify weeks before. And the crisp modesty with which Dawson disclaimed influence over the RFC officials seemed unrealistic. Three times he accepted free vacation use of a $30-a-day room at swank Miami Beach's Saxony Hotel, and he denied that he knew the hotel had a $1.3 million RFC loan. The event fitted into the strange two-sidedness of the Truman Administration. In world affairs its historical record is lustrous; on the domestic side the White House atmosphere often seems petty and ignoble.

Harry Truman sat down to play the piano. It was a new spinet presented to the White House in honor of National Music Week. Happy and beaming, he was sitting on the piano stool before anyone knew what he was doing. As he played he talked, his stubby fingers moving with unexpected ease over the keyboard. This was "The Little Fairy Waltz," he explained—the first tune he ever learned 60 years ago. Now and then he would hit a wrong note as he continued through Mozart's "A Major Sonata" and Paderewski's "Minuet in G." It was hard not to like the President then; hard not to have a protective, affectionate feeling toward a man so simple and unaffected.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

China and America

SIR: The review of Berk Bodde's *Peking Diary* and Graham Peck's *Two Kinds of Time* (the *NR*, April 23), like your recent attack on the *New Statesman and Nation*, seems to me to illustrate an unhappy trend in the *New Republic*. . . . Mr. Roskolenko completely ignores the possibility that China—like the US—might prefer to solve her own problems. For the third time in 90 years China's efforts to remedy intolerable conditions have been thwarted by the active military aid of either Great Britain and the US or the US. Four years ago we proclaimed through Wedemeyer that no government in China which could not be depended upon to give us bases would be acceptable to us. In a civil war (which otherwise might not have been a war) we supplied one side with $5 billion of armament. Tens of thousands of helpless civilians were killed by bombs made in the US, dropped from American-built planes, piloted by American-trained pilots. Russian propaganda was quite unnecessary to make the Chinese people hate those who did these things.

Mao became the actual ruler of China but we refused to recognize his government. When the UN intervened in Korea, the US unilaterally sent a fleet to the Chinese waters of Formosa and declared it would support the French in Indo-China. These are basic facts which Mr. Roskolenko ignores. Like the rest of us, he is opposed to Communism, but his curtain should not be so thick that he fails to see China through it.

Congratulations on your penetrating special issue, "Spotlight on Mobilization."

Northfield, Minn. CLARA F. WATSON

SIR: Mrs. Watson's objections to my review can be understood at this late date if one adopts the same innocence toward the war in Korea that she has adopted toward China's recent past. But let us get to the facts and away from the special pleading of the good-at-heart. China (read Red China!) did not solve her national problems by joining the crusade of the Cominform—undertaking to fight in Korea the first battle for the Kremlin. If Mrs. Watson endorses Mao's revolution, she should say so openly. Mao's revolution is a Communist one, brought about through the use of intellectual "innocents" and fellow travelers at home and abroad. They added the feathers to the rocks in the Communist cushion.

Like other anti-Communists, I have opposed the killings in the earlier civil war. Mrs. Watson's heart is almost all-inclusive, but she does not voice objections to Mao's current purges and executions, to Red China's youth being marshaled for death in Korea for the rule of the Cominform.

Her positive opposition to Communism is hardly apparent in the illogic of her political communication, which implies that we recognize Red China, and worse, remove the US fleet from off Formosa. . . . If we followed either of these suggestions, we would give Red China a larger backyard for newer fields of operations, for any other Korea being readied on the Cominform schedule. Mrs. Watson's statistics, like her "facts," are totally askew. We did not supply "$5 billion of armaments" to aid the Nationalists. It was much less than $3 billion and only a minor part of that went for arms.

New York City HARRY ROSKOLENKO

Fancy Dan MacArthur

SIR: Every so often this reader is piqued by the daring analyses contained within the lead editorials of the *NR*. The issue of April 30 provides a good example. Although the opinions expressed in "The Choice in Korea" are generally sound, one or two inferences seem slightly far-fetched. I cannot recall any other news source that has given the opinion that MacArthur has been single-mindedly intent on alibiing his own military failure in the conduct of the Korean campaign. This may be apparent to those of us who disagree with the General, but it is doubtful if he looks upon his conduct of the campaign as anything but exemplary. Many will agree that military sagaciousness was sadly lacking during some phases of the campaign, and as indicated in the *NR* this failure was probably a function of his shortcomings as a military strategist.

General Bradley is probably too much of a gentleman to come out and say it, but the words he used during the squelching of the Navy's rebellion during the unification fight—"This is no time for fancy dans who won't hit the line with all they've got because they cannot carry the ball"—seem quite applicable in regard to MacArthur.

LAWRENCE GOULD

University Heights, Ohio

Versatility

SIR: Watching the gyrations of Senator Taft, making statements in the morning and taking them back in the afternoon, I am reminded of a college song I used to sing, about the "anaconda boa-constrictor."

He can eat himself, crawl through himself, and come out of himself with agility.

He can tie himself up in a double-bowknot, and undo himself with the greatest facility.

Monrovia, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 124, NUMBER 21, ISSUE 1903, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 21, 1951

New Republic

IS MacARTHUR WINNING?

GENERAL MACARTHUR is striving to transform the United States from a partner in the United Nations into an imperial power acting alone in Asia. He believes he is succeeding. He may be right.

For our government, while it condemns the consequences of General MacArthur's demands, is yielding to them one by one.

It is breaking our solemn commitment on Formosa.

It is denying China's right to be seated in the UN.

It is sending new aid to Chiang Kai-shek.

It is revising our peace aims in the Korean War.

It is using economic pressure to force our European Allies into line.

None of these actions is beyond reprieve. Some may reflect no more than General Marshall's efforts to fend off blows from hostile Senators. Yet together they amount to an alarming trend.

Formerly the US and the UN fought in Korea to repel aggression. We proposed as peace terms the restoration of the 38th Parallel. We stated that while we would not reward Chinese aggression we would, following a settlement in Korea, enter into genuine discussions on China's claims to Formosa and to UN membership. These terms presumably were included in the UN peace proposals which MacArthur sabotaged by offering his own ultimatum to the Chinese Communists. Now in effect these terms are repudiated by General Marshall. If he is upheld, if Formosa and the UN are no longer matters for negotiation with Communist China, then our terms in Korea approach unconditional surrender. The dangers of this new situation are obvious. We cannot march to the borders of North Korea without precipitating new moves by Russia. We cannot defeat China in Korea. We want to end the military stalemate. Instead we may reinforce it with a diplomatic stalemate. Formerly, as James Reston summed up this point in the New York *Times*, the US was fighting a limited war in Korea for limited objectives. Formerly it attacked MacArthur's demand for total victory through total war against China. Both courses at least were realistic. But the Administration has chosen a wholly unreal course. It is committing the US to the concept of total victory through a limited war.

It is also committing the UN and our Allies unless they choose to break with us and to bear the consequences of our present irrational mood. For the tragic truth is that those who are forcing the changes in our policies in Asia are indifferent to the consequences of their actions in Europe. Imperialism in Asia and isolationism in Europe are two sides of the same coin in Republican foreign policy. A shift in American emphasis from Europe, where we stand as equals, to Asia where we can dominate other nations, has been a traditional Republican objective. If this shift is now completed by MacArthur, its expression is likely to be the slashing by Congress of vital economic and military aid to European nations reluctant to underwrite our blunders in Asia.

Of all the new policies outlined by General Marshall in his Senate testimony his statement on Korea is by all odds the worst. It follows the recommendation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to hold on to Formosa for strategic reasons. If that decision were sound its adoption would amount to an incalculable political loss for a minor strategic gain and would be an abrogation of responsibility by the President. But the recommendation, on strategic grounds alone, is probably unsound. If the Communists can threaten the US from the small island of Formosa, how much more can they accomplish from the entire Chinese mainland, a few hundred miles away? The recommendation makes sense only if the Pacific is seen, through MacArthur's imperialist eyes, as an American lake.

We have placed ourselves, in Formosa, in the position of a chess player who advances a queen deep into enemy territory in order to capture a pawn. To protect the entrapped queen of American prestige and power, more and more reinforcements must be brought up to a position that has little value and no future. Meanwhile the opponent is free to advance his major pieces for the capture of the real objective—Western Europe. Yet in suffering this loss in Europe, we lose in Asia as well.

One year ago our government outlined a winning program for Asia. It declared that the great force of Asia was nationalism. It recognized that Asian nationalism was neither anti-Communist nor anti-Russian. It asserted that it was anti-imperialist and that Soviet Russia was the great imperialist threat. It stood as the protector of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Asian independence against imperialist domination by *any* non-Asian nation. It declared, in Secretary Dean Acheson's words:

> We must not seize the unenviable position which the Russians have carved out for themselves. We must not undertake to deflect from the Russians to ourselves the righteous anger and the wrath and the hatred of the Chinese people which must develop. We must take the position we have always taken, that anyone who violates the integrity of China is the enemy of China and is acting contrary to our own interest. That is the first and greatest rule in American policy toward Asia.

That rule is now violated, apparently with the acquiescence of the man who formulated it. Now the US threatens to emerge as a rival imperial power, betraying its anti-colonial history, sacrificing its main appeal to the peoples of Asia, obscuring the central threat of Russian expansion, compromising the moral issue. As Secretary of State, Acheson owes it to Asia and to America to explain what has happened in a year's time that justifies a reversal on our first and greatest rule of policy toward two-thirds of the world's peoples. If he cannot explain, then as a man who has explicitly placed his conscience above his regard for public office, he should resign. The absence of a compelling reason other than lack of support has been an obstacle to Acheson's resignation under fire. Now if Acheson is not going to fight back the reason should be clear. It is that he will not act as Secretary of State of the United States to carry out the policies of MacArthur, McCarthy and Hearst.

THE WEEK

ARE SOURCES SECRET?

The old hocus-pocus that a newsman's sources are sacred has at last been questioned in court. Federal Judge John C. Knox has ruled that newspapermen are not privileged to conceal sources of information. The issue arose in connection with the case of Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg, convicted spy on atom secrets, whose counsel is attempting to obtain her removal from the Sing Sing death house pending the outcome of her appeal. Her attorney, Emanuel Bloch, has charged that the government transferred her to the death house to subject her to "cruel and inhuman" treatment to make her talk. His information was based on some 20 items by columnist Leonard Lyons which said, in effect, that the Rosenbergs could still save themselves, if they would "talk."

Judge Knox called Lyons to the stand and queried him about the source of his news items. Lyons refused to answer whether or not his sources had at one time been connected with the government, claiming "the relationship between news sources and newspapermen is as sacred as between lawyer and client, doctor and patient and a clergyman and a confessor." Judge Knox, in his ruling, said, "I have gone into the law very carefully, and I find he has no such privilege." Whether or not Lyons will be asked to reveal his sources depends upon another ruling later this week. Whatever the outcome, Judge Knox deserves credit for having questioned a self-made right of newsmen that has resulted in many an irresponsible story attributed to the proverbial "authoritative source."

SCHOOLS ARE EXPENDABLE

State and local officials, preparing to improve antiquated school and road systems, are boiling mad at a recent letter from Defense Mobilizer Wilson which, in effect, ordered them to check all such proposed expenditures with local bankers. Acting on a recommendation of the Federal Reserve Board's Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee, Wilson warned mayors to go easy on civic improvement projects because of their inflationary impact, and told them to clear their projects with regional bank committees set up by the FRB. These committees—the Eastern one is headed by Kuhn, Loeb and Company—are made up of the same bank officials who have allowed commercial credit to expand sky-high.

Grass-roots protests against Wilson's autocratic action were quick to arrive. Ralph Speer, chairman of the Franklin County (Kentucky) Board of Education, which has mapped a $14 million school-building program to take care of Louisville's expanding population said: "The school board will hold up on construction provided Wilson co-operates in holding down the birth rate. . . ." Washington State's Governor, Arthur P. Langlie, protested that the state's new school bonds included new facilities to provide for 500 unbalanced children and said: "I can't imagine anything more urgent than this construction." A California official said it was "silly" for the government to spend billions on defense plants, while asking communities not to undertake the necessary expansion in utility and other services required to maintain them.

There are signs that Wilson's letter was more than a "request." Simultaneously, the National Production Authority announced that it would screen all commodity projects using 25 tons or more of steel. Parts of the Voluntary Credit Committee's report—such as that requesting states to postpone veterans' bonus issues—have obvious merit. Others—such as that asking cities to forego purchasing privately owned utilities—are more debatable. A Birmingham, Alabama, official about to negotiate the $22 million purchase of the city's private water plant pointed out that the change in ownership of an operating concern was hardly a prime inflationary danger. But the most important

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

implication of Wilson's report—that school and other vital improvements are expendables unrelated to defense—is indefensible. In effect, Wilson and the Federal Reserve Board are making up for their failure to curb the bankers' huge commercial loans by rationing books and school desks to children.

A duPONT'S TAXES

WILMINGTON, DEL. (NR corresp.)

Money given to Merwin K. Hart's neo-Fascist National Economic Council cannot be deducted from taxable income as business expenses, Judge Richard S. Rodney said in an opinion issued in the US District Court in Wilmington.

Lammot duPont sued the government for refund of $17,000 in income taxes he claimed were collected illegally for the years 1945 and 1946, arguing that the contributions to the Council should have been allowed by the collector of internal revenue as business expense deductions.

TARIFFS AT TORQUAY

The chances that the world will soon move closer to the ideal of free multilateralism championed by the US are getting dimmer by the minute. The results of the Torquay conference, the third held under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, were disappointing. With ECA's persuasive powers waning as the Marshall Plan dwindles, European and especially British resistance to across-the-board tariff cuts is stiffening. And to top it off, Secretary Hull's tariff-cutting heirs in our State Department are being critically hampered by Congress, which is in the midst of writing the most protectionist tariff bill since Smoot-Hawley.

The greatest impasse at Torquay, where the countries bartered bilaterally over concessions later to be made applicable to all participants, arose between the US and the British Commonwealth. The British wanted us to cut our high tariffs to a level closer to their own. We refused, unless they would make concessions at least approximately equal, and pressed for further abolition of their imperial preference system. At the same time the French sought cancellation of many concessions they had made at earlier conferences. The low-tariff Scandinavian and Benelux countries futilely called on the bigger countries to get off their high-duty horses.

In the midst of the talks, the conference was thrown into confusion by the House's precipitate crippling of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the basis of the American position. The House bill would force the US to cancel or modify many of its most important concessions in order to protect high-cost agricultural and industrial producers. At Torquay, the bad news from Washington impelled the other countries hastily to contract the range of their offered concessions, beginning a downward cycle which the US delegation found hard to stop. The result was largely to perpetuate US tariff levels with the more important European countries, although some significant agreements were made with Germany, Canada and Japan.

Unimpressed by foreign protests against autarchic US policies on international markets, the Senate has moved to second the House's high tariff bill. Already reported out of committee, the Senate version keeps the "peril-point" clause in toto, thereby forcing the President to submit to Congress each individual case in which a tariff reduction would injure high-cost domestic producers. At a time when the need for free trade movements is essential to prevent sudden scarcities under the defense program, Congress is selling the national interest down the river.

REVOLT IN CHINA?

The Chinese Communists' terror campaign, initiated in February to begin where "persuasion" left off, has hit a new peak with the announced execution of 719 "counter-revolutionaries" in the 48 hours before May Day. The Chinese appear to be striving to outdo the excesses committed in the early days of the Russian revolution. The guise of political toleration adopted by the victorious Communist armies in the initial period seems permanently cast off.

With characteristic love of spectacle, the Chinese Reds are holding their trials in open-air courts before tens of thousands of spectators. But preliminary organization is also thorough. "Counter-revolutionary extermination committees" have been organized on a "street" and even "lane" level. The most thorough campaign appears to be in the coastal cities, especially Shanghai, Hangchow and Nanking. But even the interior provinces are in the throes of conflict. The Communist radio at Sian has claimed that over 3,500 "bandits" were killed or apprehended during February and March in the "Northwest Army Area" alone. These excesses seem to testify to internal resistance to Mao on a scale exceeding expectations.

ANOTHER LOYALTY OATH

OKLAHOMA CITY (NR corresp.)

The recent invalidation of the University of California's loyalty oath by the State's District Court of Appeals did not deter the Oklahoma State Legislature from passing a new anti-Communist law requiring all state employees and members of the Oklahoma A & M and the University of Oklahoma faculties to take a special loyalty pledge. Eight professors have announced they will refuse to sign the oath and force a test of the law. State Representative Shibley, author of the legislation, has warned that letters from protesting faculty members are being turned over to the FBI.

The Oklahoma loyalty oath, one of the most stringent yet devised, requires faculty members to swear that they are not affiliated directly or indirectly with the Communist Party or the Third Communist International, that they were not members of "any foreign political agency, party, association or group whatever which has been officially determined by the US Attorney General or other authorized agency of the US to be a Communist front or subversive organization," and that they would agree to "take up arms in the defense of the United States in time of war, or national emergency, if necessary." The constitutionality of the latter two provisions has already been questioned by State Attorney General Mac Q. Williamson.

While the legislature was considering

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the bill, the American Legion served as sort of an "ex officio" agency of the state. Legion officials, strong sponsors of the bill, were invited to the otherwise "closed-door" committee sessions.

Aside from the eight professors and a small group of state employees, there has been little vocal opposition to the oath. Dr. George L. Cross, president of the University of Oklahoma, was publicly denounced by state Rep. Lucian Spear for permitting the protesting faculty members to remain on the payroll. "They should have been fired immediately when they even hinted they would not take the oath," Spear said.

It is indeed unfortunate that the Oklahoma legislature did not learn by the incalculable loss suffered by the University of California as a result of its loyalty controversy. A report from the Berkeley, Calif., Committee on Academic Freedom computes the toll taken by its Board of Regents' reckless action: 26 faculty members were dismissed; 37 others resigned in protest; 55 courses were dropped from the curriculum as the result of the ejection of the non-signers; at least 47 offers of appointment were refused by such men of eminence as Professors Howard Mumford Jones and Robert Penn Warren; and 20 learned professional societies and groups passed condemnatory resolutions, some of which implicitly warned their members from accepting posts at California until tenure is re-established and the oath abolished.

PIED PIPERS IN BROWN

Once upon a time the town of Hamlin, in the Lower Saxony district of Germany, was visited by a pied piper who lured away its gullible children. Last week many of their descendants followed a former Nazi general to the polls in postwar Germany's strongest ultra-Right showing. Led by Otto Remer, the general who squashed the 1944 anti-Hitler putsch, neo-Nazi parties rolled up 14 percent of the vote in the Lower Saxony state elections.

These returns are alarming but not surprising. Lower Saxony has been traditionally prone to Nazi-like leanings. It was there that the ultra-rightists were most successful in the 1949 Bundestag elections, winning nine percent of the vote. Now the most alarmed of the democratic parties is the conservative Christian Democratic Union, at whose expense Remer's Socialist Reich made most of its gains. CDU spokesmen are pressing to outlaw Remer's party before the constitutional court. This will be a difficult procedure, especially since the court has not yet been set up.

The Socialists managed to maintain their position, but failed to duplicate recent gains made in other state elections. Their opposition to the Schuman Plan has not proved as popular as their attacks on rearmament. On the whole the election revealed the Left's power to be stationary; there was a slight trend from Right to ultra-Right. The same pattern was revealed in the Austrian presidential elections for a successor to the recently deceased Karl Renner. In Austria the Socialists polled exactly the same vote—39 percent—they had received in 1949. The (Catholic) People's Party lost slightly to the League of Independents, whose backing includes both former Nazi and Pan-German elements. In the run-off, Socialist Theodor Koerner will be pitted against the Catholics' Heinrich Gleissner. The Independents are likely to back the Right, as are the Communists, who denounced the Socialist leaders as "fascists"—an old twist in Red semantics.

NEHRU'S NEUTRALITY

THE GREAT DEBATE on Nehru's policy of neutrality has flared up again in India. The causes were the recent Indian Congress on Cultural Freedom, the sacking of General MacArthur, the threat of famine and the approach of free India's first general elections.

The Cultural Freedom Congress was well smeared by the Communist and the pro-Communist press as an American show. It was sponsored by notoriously pro-American Indians. And the Communist-inspired All-India Peace Congress met about the same time in order to accentuate the ideological conflict. The Nehru regime was not willing to allow the All-India Peace Congress to hold its session in the Indian capital. Its anxiety to appear impartial and neutral also drove the Indian Congress on Cultural Freedom out of Delhi to Bombay. The reading public gathered the impression that Truman and Stalin were fighting it out in Bombay because they were debarred from the Delhi arena.

Because the government prohibited its employees from attending the Cultural Freedom Congress, and also because leading Congress Party members stayed aloof, the scene was dominated by such Socialist leaders as Jayaprakash Narayan and Asoka Mehta. Together with the American Socialist, Norman Thomas, they succeeded in imparting political overtones to what was conceived as an intellectual fair. The manifesto which emerged at the close of the convention fulfilled the predictions of the Communist opponents. It was a challenge to Nehru's foreign policy because it maintained that indifference or neutrality toward the "new tyranny founded on the theory and practice of totalitarianism" would amount to a betrayal of all spiritual values.

On General MacArthur's dismissal, Nehru's External Affairs Ministry is maintaining a studied silence. A government that delights in issuing statements made no comment on the most sensational dismissal since the Kaiser sacked Bismarck in 1890. There was an obvious desire in India to escape partisan ire from America, although the Congress leaders could hardly hide their glee.

The attempt on the part of several London dailies to describe the MacArthur "relief" as a triumph for Nehru was resented in Delhi; obviously the British wanted India as an understudy for the role of a scapegoat. It was also realized that a divided America would prove to be less tractable on the issue of gifts of food. Lately, a feeling is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

growing that India loses foreign friends not so much through her policy of neutrality as through the pin-pricking statements inflicted daily upon potential friends. For the first time, in the MacArthur case, the External Affairs Ministry in Delhi gave evidence of its new principle that neutrality is to be seen and not heard.

Yet the spread of famine conditions in parts of India has failed to dent the armor of neutrality. Those who rule and who are heard are quite well fed, and such brave phrases as "We will not sell our souls for a mess of pottage" or "We will die before we become an American satellite" come out like belches of contentment (a peculiar piece of after-dinner polite business in India) after heavy meals of rice pilau and wheat chapattis. Delhi's soap-boxers are convinced that Uncle Sam is determined to starve India out of her neutrality.

Opponents of the Nehru regime have not yet got around to telling those who are starving or are in danger of doing so that their shrunken rations can be traced to the temple of neutrality. But here lies the real danger. Elections are approaching, and the neutrality-famine equation is likely to be utilized diabolically to divide the country and to beat Nehru.

Some of the staunchest, though uninvited, supporters of the Nehru doctrine of neutrality are Communists and their fellow travelers. They know that pro-Soviet slogans cannot have wide appeal. Their position is similar to that of the pro-German element in America before the United States entered World War II. The best they can hope for is that India does not join the West and remains neutral. According to their light, India's neutrality is a stroke in Russia's favor. The Communist and the neo-Communist press in India attacks the Nehru Government on most counts, but it upholds Nehru on his neutrality.

When the food-aid bill began to flounder in Washington, these papers appealed to Russia and China to take the opportunity to offer grain to India. For a few days, food for hungry India became a football in an inter-embassies match in Delhi. The American Embassy kept up steady pressure on Washington. The Chinese and the Russian Embassies started with inspired insinuations. The food minister, who is known to be pro-American, was maligned as a man who would rather starve a million Indians than accept substantial offers from Russia and China. Even Nehru was swayed by the leftist pressure, and the food minister had to bundle a high official off to Peking in spite of his sincere belief that waiting for the American deal would pay India in the end. It should be remembered that in Europe the main cause of Communism may be spiritual; in India and in Asia it is hunger.

The approaching general elections will be fought mainly on the issues of food, clothing, corruption and administrative incompetence. However, foreign policy will provide a heavy overtone. The number of advocates of a pro-American policy is increasing. Big business, anxious to build up Indian industries with American technical aid and capital goods, has always advocated active collaboration with the West. To it, neutralism represents a craving for the kind of autonomy that has been condemned by the facts.

But neutralism is losing more to the Left. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Socialist Party, has repeatedly declared that Nehru's neutrality is weak and negative and that it should be turned into a movement for a "third force." He wants India to take a more positive stand on Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, Malaya and Indo-China, and he has been urging Indians in South Africa to make common cause with the African Negro.

The trend is clear. Pivotal India should gather the "third force" from Southeast Asia and Africa. The picture shows a shrinkage of the original Indian dream. Time was when India dreamed of Pan-Asia. But as Asian nations became free, one by one, following World War II, the cohesive "common funk" disappeared; Asia became too unwieldy and cumbersome a concept. Then came the days of India desiring to be the trunk for the two arms of Asia—the Far-Eastern Buddhistic world and the Near-Eastern Mohammedan world. This dream, too, was shattered when Pakistan injected a theological note into the politics of the Near East.

The proposal for a Pacific community never invoked favorable response in Nehru's India because it is more ideological than geographic. For instance, America and Britain and France would be included, while Russia would be ruled out. Nehru's neutrality could never tolerate such automatic commitment on the side of one of the two power blocs. Thus, by a process of elimination, India's extra-national attachment began to be centered on Southeast Asia. The Asian Regional Conference on Indonesia, held in Delphi in 1949, gave a concrete shape to the idea. The Philippines' General Romulo advocated a permanent machinery but was ruled out by Nehru, who thought the time was not ripe. When Nehru visited Indonesia in 1950, President Soekarno advocated a Southeast Asia organism from several platforms.

Most of the countries of Southeast Asia are not neutral now, as voting in the United Nations shows. The American State Department's George McGhee is therefore right when he asserts that "neutralism is losing ground" in South Asia and the Middle East. But it is the idea of a "third force," and not that of partisanship, that is replacing neutralism in South Asia and the Middle East.

The phrase "third force" has not found favor with Nehru—the man on whom most of the advocates of the doctrine in Southeast Asia are focusing their attention. But his doctrine of neutralism is becoming more and more dynamic, and the end result will surely be a "third force." The most dangerous thing from the point of world peace is the existence of only two power blocs. Wars are generated when many differences are reduced to the numeral two. The theory of the "third force" also refutes the doctrine that history is always decided by the juxtaposition of two forces. The theory of the "third force" asserts that synthesis is possible, and that the total destruction either of thesis or antithesis is not always incumbent.

New Delhi K. L. SHRIDHARANI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTSIDE AMERICA

REALITIES IN IRAN

The British might have "shown the flag" in Iran, even more than they did; but it is hard to see what practical purpose could have been served. It would have been little short of folly for a government, which had the enlightened courage to nationalize steel on behalf of the whole British people, to resort to the outworn imperialist methods of Clive, Hastings and Rhodes on behalf of the pounds and pence of a clique of British capitalists bent on delaying the nationalization of oil in a country not even on the threshold of the welfare state.

Indeed, the British Government might have started a chain of circumstances as dangerously unpredictable as the one begun by American intervention in Korea on behalf of the moral principles of the United Nations. The landing of Royal Marines on Iranian soil could undo precisely what President Truman tried to do by preventing General MacArthur from dropping bombs on Manchuria. By Article Six of the Treaty of 1921 between Iran and the Soviet Union, the Russians would have the right to move troops into northern Iran if the British entered the south. The Iran Government says the treaty is a dead letter. But the Russians say nothing; and the opinions of international lawyers would count for little after the start of the "revolution" which would almost inevitably precede the advance of the Red Army.

The Communist Tudeh Party has been exploiting the agitation which led to the strike and fatal incidents at Abadan, site of the largest oil refinery in the world. But it is a gross oversimplification of the situation in Iran to put all the blame on the Communists. Behind the Cold War in Iran, several other kinds of war have been going on, and for a long time. British and Russian imperialism have used the country as a battleground for 150 years. British and American oil interests have often, in the recent past, shown themselves more concerned with defeating one another than with making a common capitalist front against the Russian imperialist-Communists. And all the foreigners have been involved, in one way or another, with the struggle between the new popular nationalism and the old reactionaries.

In Iran, there is far more confusion than clarity about the various issues; there is more fanaticism at work than rationalism; and the revolutionary possibilities which the Tudeh Party and its foreign masters can and do exploit follows naturally from the total absence of anything like social evolution.

Both of the Western powers involved have what the Communists call inner contradictions. The British foreign Office and the American State Department might well find the basis of common action; and as a matter of fact, in view of the explosive possibilities of the Iranian sector of the Cold War and of the importance of Iranian oil for the economy of the free world, the two governments "deemed it advisable to exchange views informally." But agitators in Iran—the agents of the reactionaries, the fanatical henchmen of the nationalist Dr. Mossadeq, as well as the Tudeh agitprop section—made the official Anglo-American meeting in Washington seem an effort of the imperialists to gang up against nationalization of the oil industry. Ambassador Soheily said, the talks "cannot have any validity for Iran and are considered by the Iranians to be interference in their affairs."

In saying so, he was talking for home consumption. He knows that the real danger comes, not from the Foreign Office or the State Department but from the private oil interests in Britain and America who are engaged in a no-holds-barred battle—the British to blunt the spearhead of American penetration into a traditionally British area of exploitation, the Americans to take advantage of nationalization to dispossess the British.

After the Iranians voted nationalization, a period of excitement in London was followed by an apparent willingness on the part of the Anglo-Iranian Company to make the best of a bad situation. But behind the official façade of resignation, the old Persia hands began to work hard to stir up trouble and to force the British Government to intervene. For example, the management of the plant at Abadan chose the eve of Nowruz—the Persian New Year when the equivalent of Christmas gifts are exchanged—to announce that workers would no longer be given housing allotments. The Communists and the reactionaries, working together though perhaps for different purposes, moved in rapidly to exploit the ill-feeling. But it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the Anglo-Iranian started the trouble—and deliberately.

And it is equally hard to avoid believing that the company acted because their good friends across the Atlantic—the boards of directors of a group of big American oil companies—had kindly lent to the Iranian Government a gentleman named Thornburg to act as "technical adviser" in the nationalization of the (previously British) oil industry. The British oil interests are not worried about the Russians; they would be willing to go back to the situation before 1907 when Iran was split into British and Russian spheres of influence; and they think the Russians would—at this stage of the Cold War—settle for such a deal, calling off temporarily the dogs of the Tudeh.

But the British interests are very much afraid of the Americans. They cannot be said to lack reasons. The freebooters of a new-style American capitalist imperialism which uses a former cabinet member to do its work in West Germany and a former Senator to operate in Iraq, are the most dangerous elements in the complex Iranian pattern. If serious trouble is to be avoided, a really "rationalistic sequence of social evolution" needs to be started, and that start can be made only by effective control of Wall Street by Washington.

Paris PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FATTENING ON FUTURES

by Edwin A. Lahey

SPECULATORS in commodities have grown fat on the Korean War. They can operate on a shoestring and get a turnover like a crap game. Their profits totaled hundreds of millions of dollars in the last six months of 1950. To a large extent, this killing was made possible because the commodity exchanges themselves fix the margin requirements for commodity trading, whereas the Federal Reserve Board controls the margin requirements for securities trading. (The stock market margin which was 50 percent at the beginning of the war is 75 percent today. At the beginning of the Korean conflict, the commodities speculator could get action for as little as seven or eight percent margin.)

J. M. Mehl, administrator of the Commodity Exchange Authority of the Department of Agriculture, puts it this way:

A speculator who purchased just before the Korean episode and deposited the minimum margin could have cashed in five weeks later on July 28 with an approximate 450 percent profit on lard, 300 percent on cottonseed oil, 300 percent on soybeans, 150 percent on cotton, and a comparatively modest 100 percent on the relatively sluggish wheat futures.

Last summer President Truman asked Congress for authority to control margin requirements in the commodity markets. Congress withheld it. The President, Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson and Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan are again asking for this authority in the renewal of the Defense Production Act, which expires on June 30. But there is every indication that Congress will again withhold from the government the authority to control margins in the commodity markets, even in the face of a warning by Wilson to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee last week that another speculative splurge is a dangerous possibility. (Trading in the five major grains totaled 3.2 billion bushels in the first three months of 1951, as compared with 2.4 billion bushels in the same period of 1950.)

Last August, when the Defense Act was in debate, Sen. Burnet Maybank of South Carolina, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, said: "Speculators within proper limits play an important role. The problem is so complex that it is impossible on short notice to work out adequate legislation." The member of Congress who spends a quiet hour with the record of commodities speculation will agree with Senator Maybank that under normal conditions, the speculator in wheat, corn, cotton, soybeans, etc., provides the fluid market in which the food processor, the elevator operator and others may conduct the "hedging" transactions which are a necessary insurance against price fluctuations. The speculator under these "normal" conditions is the tail of the dog. But in a time like the Korean crisis the tail wags the dog. The speculative fever that raged in commodities last summer and fall actually caused such erratic price movements that the markets were in some instances made useless for "hedging" transactions.

The commodity speculator not only makes a personal fortune and contributes nothing to society in a national crisis but he is also the most blessed of men at the office of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. There is widespread tax avoidance by commodities speculators through fancy accounting and a device called "offsetting trades." The Bureau says, "There is nothing we can do about it."

Even if the commodity speculator doesn't resort to tax-avoidance methods, he still is a favored citizen with the tax collector. A speculator, with a margin of $30,000, could have netted a profit of $100,000 in soybeans in the last six months of 1950. His "capital-gains" tax, if he kept his account open for six months, would have been $25,000, according to the Internal Revenue Bureau. A citizen who was the sole owner of an incorporated plant which manufactured articles contributing something to our standard of living and who made $100,000 profit before taxes in 1950 had a tax bill more than twice that of the speculator. The manufacturer would pay $40,000 in corporate taxes, leaving him a personal income of $60,000. On this he would pay personal income tax of more than $26,000. His net from the $100,000 earned usefully would be about $34,000. The speculator's net from the $100,000 earned as a sharpshooter would be $75,000.

The writer has estimated, on the basis of available data, that speculators made a profit of $74.5 million in the last six months of 1950 in four commodities alone: wheat, corn, soybeans and cotton. An expert at the Department of Agriculture says this estimate is "extremely conservative." The figure was arrived at by averaging the "open contract" statistics in each of these commodities over a period of six months, deducting the percentage which the Department of Agriculture says was "hedging" and multiplying the speculative portion of the trading by the price increment in each commodity.

Edwin A. Lahey is a member of the Washington Bureau of the Knight newspapers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Only in these four commodities was it possible to find both the "open contract" position daily and a reasonably authentic breakdown of the "open contracts" between hedging and speculative trades. There is no way, short of a major Congressional investigation, to determine how much the speculators realized out of our national crisis on rye, oats, lard, eggs, coffee, sugar, onions, potatoes, rubber, butter, wool, tin, black pepper, rice and all the other commodities for which there are futures markets.

The soybean futures market on the Chicago Board of Trade just prior to and immediately following the outbreak of the Korean War was the most riotous of all and should be worth the investigative time of a Congressional committee by itself. The real killings made in soybeans by the speculators last summer even have a touch of oriental mystery. Chinese speculators dominated the soybean market as of June 30, and while their names are on a Department of Agriculture list that cannot by law be made public unless a committee calls for it, there is authoritative information to the effect that the names of blood relatives of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, a member of the fabulously rich Soong family, are on that list. The prevalence of Chinese accounts in soybean futures and the persistence of rumors on the Chicago Board of Trade that a "Chinese Nationalist corner" on soybeans was in the making led the Commodity Exchange Authority to conduct two investigations last year. The report of those investigations stated that while it was not unusual for Chinese to speculate in soybean futures, "no previous instance has been found in which Chinese held as large a proportion of the total open contracts in any commodity as in the 1950 July soybean future." The CEA, however, found no proof of market manipulation, or other practices in violation of the Commodity Exchange Act.

A considerable number of the Chinese traders showed Hong Kong addresses. The others were located in this country. The largest account was held by a Hong Kong commission house, whose purchases were distributed among 14 separate customer accounts. "The circumstances surrounding the trading in the 14 accounts carried by the Hong Kong commission firm point to common control and possible common ownership," the CEA report said. The survey of June 30 showed a total of 56 Chinese accounts, which controlled 47.3 percent of all the "long contracts" in July soybeans, and 18.7 percent of the "long contracts" in all soybean futures. The pre-Korea speculation in which the Chinese took such an aggressive part ran the price of July soybeans up 49 percent between March and July, from $2.31 per bushel to $3.45.

In its 1950 report, the Commodity Exchange Authority, as a post-mortem note to one of our greatest speculative binges, said: "The margin requirements which the commodity exchanges had in effect at the outbreak of the Korean War were at low levels, enabling traders to finance speculative transactions with relatively small down payments. This was a contributing factor in the upsurge of speculative activity and attendant rise in prices." Another report says that speculative margins established by the exchanges are applied only to outside traders. "A large proportion of the total speculative trading is done by exchange members who are not subject to the speculative margin requirements."

The practice of tax avoidance by commodities speculators is a field apart from the question of margin requirements, which is now before Congress. But it is a fruitful ground for exploration while the cry of "equality of sacrifice" is heard in Washington, and the echoes of the Kefauver committee still shout that the underworld has been robbing the Internal Revenue Bureau blind. Officials say that tax avoidance is as flagrant as in December, 1947, when the CEA, in a public report, showed instances where speculators, by "offsetting trades" and other devices involving phony bookkeeping by commission houses, were able to shift profits from the taxable year in which they were made to some subsequent year; where they converted short-term fully taxable items into long-term capital net gains, and where they even converted actually realized profit into the appearance of a net loss for tax purposes.

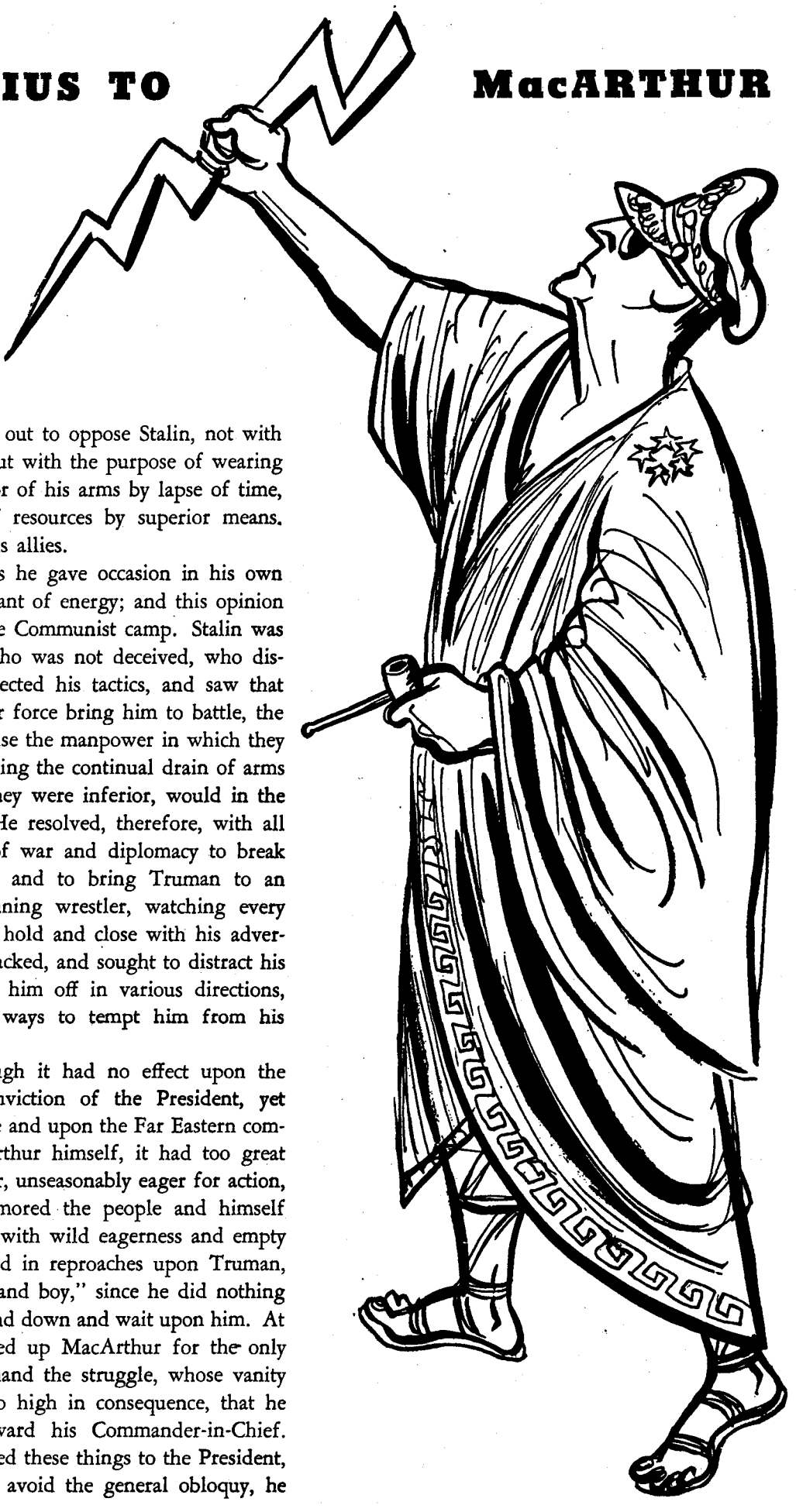
The Treasury Department, when it was first needled about these practices, put out a bulletin with instructions to collectors of internal revenue to plug the loophole of "offsetting trades." A qualified expert at the CEA says that the 1948 bulletin did close the loophole of "offsetting trades" in the "same commodity in the same contract period," but that the sharp speculators get around this by making their "offsetting trades" in the "same commodity" in a "different contract period."

There are no eminent people in the administrative branch of the government with a good word for the commodities speculators. Defense Mobilizer Wilson, before a Senate committee last week, said that he was "aware of no reason why the way should be left open for profiteering in this [commodity speculation] area" and added that the "small trader is attracted by the low margin rates" in the commodities markets and that Congress should give him stand-by powers to regulate these margin requirements.

Speaking of low margin requirements, five will get you ten from me that the views of the directors of the commodity exchanges will prevail in both the House and the Senate and that we will go into the next speculative binge without the controls asked by the President, Mr. Wilson and Secretary Brannan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINUCIUS TO MacARTHUR



AND THUS Truman set out to oppose Stalin, not with intention to fight him, but with the purpose of wearing out and wasting the vigor of his arms by lapse of time, of meeting his want of resources by superior means, and by rallying numerous allies.

By these dilatory ways he gave occasion in his own camp for suspicion of want of energy; and this opinion prevailed yet more in the Communist camp. Stalin was himself the only man who was not deceived, who discerned his skill and detected his tactics, and saw that unless he could by art or force bring him to battle, the Communists, unable to use the manpower in which they were superior, and suffering the continual drain of arms and treasure in which they were inferior, would in the end come to nothing. He resolved, therefore, with all the arts and subtleties of war and diplomacy to break his opponent's strategy, and to bring Truman to an engagement, like a cunning wrestler, watching every opportunity to get good hold and close with his adversary. He at one time attacked, and sought to distract his attention, tried to draw him off in various directions, and endeavored in all ways to tempt him from his safe policy.

All this artifice, though it had no effect upon the firm judgment and conviction of the President, yet upon the common people and upon the Far Eastern commander, General MacArthur himself, it had too great an operation: MacArthur, unseasonably eager for action, bold and confident, humored the people and himself contributed to fill them with wild eagerness and empty hopes, which they vented in reproaches upon Truman, calling him "Stalin's errand boy," since he did nothing else but follow him up and down and wait upon him. At the same time, they cried up MacArthur for the only captain worthy to command the struggle, whose vanity and presumption rose so high in consequence, that he grew very insolent toward his Commander-in-Chief. When his friends reported these things to the President, persuading him that, to avoid the general obloquy, he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should engage the enemy, his answer was, "I should be more fainthearted than they make me, if, through fear of idle reproaches, I should abandon my own convictions. It is no inglorious thing to have fear for the safety of our country, but to be turned from one's course by men's opinions, by blame and by misrepresentation, shows a man unfit to hold an office such as this, which, by such conduct, he makes the slave of those whose errors it is his business to control."

About this time, the President went out to the Pacific to confer with MacArthur, and on this occasion not only charged him as his Commander-in-Chief, but besought and entreated him not, in his absence, to behave in a manner that would jeopardize the course embarked upon. His commands, entreaties and advice were lost upon MacArthur, for his back was no sooner turned but the General immediately sought occasions to embarrass the President.

The imbroglio spread to Congress, where the Republicans, highly elated, listened to a speech by McCarthy the Senator, in which he infinitely extolled the valor of MacArthur, and fell bitterly upon Truman, accusing him for want not merely of energy but even of loyalty; and not only him, but also many other eminent and considerable persons; saying that it was they that had allowed the Communists to come to power in the Far East. He exhorted them to take away from Truman that absolute power of the President, and put it into more worthy hands, better able and more inclined to use it for the public good. These impressions very much prevailed upon the people, though not so far as wholly to dispossess Truman of the Presidency.

The enemies of Truman thought they had sufficiently humiliated and subdued him by raising up MacArthur, but they mistook the temper of the man, who looked upon their folly as not his loss, but like Diogenes, who, being told that some persons derided him, made answer, "But I am not derided," meaning that only those were really insulted on whom such insults made an impression. So Truman, with great tranquility and unconcern, submitted to what happened, and contributed a proof to the argument of the philosophers that a just and good man is not capable of being dishonored. His only vexation arose from his fear lest this ill counsel, by supplying opportunities to the diseased military ambition of his subordinate, should damage the public cause; lest the rashness of MacArthur should now at once run headlong into some disaster.

The above is taken from Plutarch's "Life of Fabius" [Plutarch, Lives, *New York, (Modern Library)]. The language and point of view are his, with names and minor circumstances changed to fit the present-day parallel. Fabius, the "Truman" of the story, was eventually successful with his "waiting strategy." Minucius (MacArthur), on the other hand, let his rashness lead him into a trap and had to be rescued by Fabius. For this account we are indebted to a reader, Philip W. Norris, of Stockton Springs, Maine.*

GERMANY ARMS THE EAST

by Jean Pajus

HUGE QUANTITIES of strategic materials—steel, machine tools, ball bearings and similar commodities—are flowing steadily to the East from the factories of West Germany. On April 13, 1951, Herbert Wehner, Socialist chairman of the All-German Affairs Committee of the West German parliament, stated that West Germany was delivering four times as much goods to the Iron Curtain countries as specified in the original trade agreement.

How and why has West Germany become the funnel through which strategic materials continue to reach the Soviet Union and its satellites?

In March, 1948, the US inaugurated a ban on the shipment of strategic materials to the Soviet-bloc nations. The concurrence of the other partners in the Western alliance was obtained to prevent transshipment of commodities to the East. After some disagreement over timing because of prior contracts made by Great Britain and France with Russia, the State Department announced on September 15, 1950, that "the United States Government had very effective agreements with West European countries for halting exports of strategic materials to Russia." But the current debate in the German Bundestag demonstrates that US policy has not been effective. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has failed to implement his stated allegiance to the purposes of the Western democracies by not halting the flow of strategic goods to the East.

The American people have been informed that West Germany, resuscitated economically and politically by Marshall-Plan money, has become an integral part of the Western system of defense. Desiring to prove to the West Germans that the Western Allies trusted Germany and the federal government to carry out its obligations to the West and take part in the general struggle against

Dr. Jean Pajus has served as adviser in Germany to the US Treasury Mission and to the Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets of the US Office of Military Government and is now an economic consultant in New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communism, the high commissioners, in the early part of 1950, took the important step of restoring to the Bonn Government the authority to control exports and imports. This was a far-reaching decision and carried the clear implication that the Bonn Government would sincerely follow through on the prevention of shipments of strategic materials to the East. At the same time, the Soviet bloc initiated a campaign to convince the Germans that their best interests lay in co-operation with the East. Exploiting the national feelings of the Germans and the pervading desire for unity, the Soviet propaganda appealed especially to industrialists to extend their dealings with the East bloc and thereby save their country from the potential devastation of a new war. The Russian propaganda fostered and nurtured strong "neutralist" feelings among the Germans.

German big business seized the bait with suspicious alacrity. One trade agreement after another was made with the East. To demonstrate their interest in doing business with the Russians, some 30 German firms in the Ruhr went so far as to take quarter-page ads in the Communist paper—*Freies Volk*—of Düsseldorf. Even such concerns as Demag and Guetthoffnungs Werke, two of the largest machine and iron plants in the Ruhr, and both recipients of Marshall-Plan money, placed ads in the German *Daily Worker*. In addition, leading personalities in the business world made cash contributions to the West German Communist Party.

The German industrialists were attempting to buy insurance, should trouble break out in Europe, to prove that they were able to do business with the Communists. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*— a conservative newspaper—in a lengthy editorial on April 1, 1950, explained its point of view on doing business with the East. Germany has always been the bridge to the East. Since Germany's life is at stake, no one would deny Germany the right to make such economic agreements as would be acceptable and to go directly to the "big boss in Moscow instead of the little bosses in the East zone." The economic need of trade with the East has been frequently discussed in German newspaper editorials with approval.

The relaxation of export controls in May, 1950, signaled the beginning of increased shipments eastward. In June, the shipment of ball bearings was 10 times greater than in the previous month; it reached $101,000 with the bulk going to Hungary. In the previous 12 months, no ball bearings had gone to Hungary. In June, Bulgaria received $61,000 worth of chemical compounds; previously she had gotten none. Shipments of carbon black to Bulgaria and Rumania in May totaled $1,000. In June, they were $39,000. In 1949, none had been shipped. The same pattern holds for other compounds, such as barium, lead, sodium and nickel.

Iron products sent to Czechoslovakia trebled in June, and those to Rumania doubled. Five times as many steel pipes went to Hungary in June as in May, and electrical equipment shipped to the satellite countries jumped 700 percent in that one month. And American officials frankly admitted they were fully aware that the German Government had engaged in statistical skullduggery to conceal the size of some of these shipments. In American trade circles, these circumventions of American policy caused dismay. Mr. Tell Berna, general manager of the Machine Tool Builders in Cleveland, called attention to the fact that the revived machine-tool industry in West Germany was shipping machine tools financed by the American taxpayer to the satellite countries under permit from the American military authorities. Horizontal boring mills were going to Poland and way grinders to Hungary, tools vital in the production of war materiel.

Even under export control, loopholes existed for evading occupation regulations. An Economic Co-operation Administration staff report dated June 14, 1950, admitted that "No one in the export control branch of the Joint Export-Import Agency knew how many export documents were issued to German exporters or what happened to them after the exporters took them away. . . ."

German big business did not fear to exert pressure on the occupation authorities. On the contrary, their demands for increased indulgence to trade with the East were intensified. An admonition by US High Commissioner John J. McCloy to West German industrialists that they could find ample markets in the West for their products failed to elicit anything more positive than the German "Jawohl." Even as the Germans "jawohled" they were conducting extensive and hush-hush negotiations with East Germany, the Soviet Union and the Chinese for expanding trade with Soviet-controlled countries. The commodities involved were all on the restricted list as war potential goods.

West German interest in trade with Communist China goes back to a meeting in Düsseldorf in November, 1949, when East German technicians convinced the Ruhr industrialists that China offered a vast market for their products, particularly for the steel of the Ruhr. In Moscow Mao Tse-tung in January, 1950, agreed to an arrangement whereby Russia would gain a monopoly on all trade between West Germany and China. Diplomatic reports from Moscow began to emphasize the importance of Chinese trade as a means of winning over the West German industrialists to the side of Russia. In the spring of 1950, Walter Lippmann reported: "I have reason to know from my inquiries in Bonn last October (1949) that some arrangement of this sort had been exploited." The tempting bait that China trade offered to the steel magnates of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Ruhr was aptly stated by the Soviet-controlled East Berlin newspaper, *Berliner Zeitung*, in its July 27, 1950, issue: "China's urgent need of steel would enable West Germany's heavy industry to place its anticipated production surplus over the next few years and German steel would find an ever-growing market in China. China requires large quantities of machine tools, generators, engines, optical and precision instruments, for her planned industries. . . . All the conditions are now present for the development of a more extensive trade between Germany and China than existed in prewar times." The paper encouraged businessmen of West Germany to evade Allied restrictions and pointed out that closer economic ties with East Germany would promote the unity of the country.

When German officials were queried about secret negotiations with Russia, they retaliated with the charge of undue interference with the allowable area of operations under the occupation statute. The flow of illegal goods to the East did not cease. War materiel, such as airplane parts, bomb cases, ammunition carriers, continued to arrive in East Germany. Allied security measures attempted to halt some of these shipments at the border, but officials calculated that only two percent of rail shipments and only 10 percent of truck shipments could be inspected because of a shortage of personnel. German industrialists, having obtained an order for 100,000 tons of steel from Communist China, traveled frequently to the Soviet zone and openly boasted that they had supplied East Germany with over 500,000 tons of high-grade steel.

On May 6, 1950, reports reached Allied officials that nearly $3 million worth of seamless steel tubing—in the 1A category of strategic materials—and 30 tons of fittings were supplied to Soviet-controlled Austrian oil fields. On June 4, 1950, it was reported that prohibited goods were moving to East Germany at the rate of 10,000 to 20,000 tons a month. Although the Bonn Government was asked to exercise control over the issuance of export licenses for steel, hundreds were issued without a check on their ultimate destination. Iron Curtain countries also received 100,000 tons of steel from Austria. On July 31, 1950, the Hamburg newspaper—*Die Welt*—reported that the Swedish-controlled ball-bearing plant at Schweinfurt had concluded a contract with East Germany providing for 60,000 complete roller bearings.

By the late summer of 1950, the German press became alarmed at the extent to which trade with the East was resuming. The West Berlin *Tagesspiegel* pointed out that the firms engaging in this business were known to be expert in the ways and means of trading with the East; their books were scrupulously free of damaging entries. The paper called for an investigation by the Bonn Government. One of the prominent German companies mentioned as participating in these deals was the firm of Otto Krause, owned by W. H. Schlieker, former head of the iron and steel department of the armament ministry in the Nazi Government.

Iron scrap was also moving to the East. D. J. Lewis, secretary of the Scrap, Iron and Steel Import Corporation of New York, charged in October, 1950, that the Soviet satellites were obtaining the major supply of German scrap. In Congress it was reported that 220,000 tons of high-grade scrap were shipped to the East under agreements with West Germans. By the end of 1950, the scandal had become so great that McCloy threatened to crack down on the German Government for its failure to stop the shipment of strategic materials. However, American protests accomplished very little. German counter-measures consisted of the arrest of three executive officials of a steel-trading concern. The illegal trade with the East and China did not stop. In February of this year, a secret agreement with China was uncovered, whereby the Chinese Communists were to receive a large number of three-and-a-half-ton diesel trucks. One hundred fifty of these trucks had already reached Tientsin and 350 were packed for shipment. About 70 percent of all shipments to China consisted of iron and steel products as well as mechanical equipment vital to the Communists. It was an "open secret" that a Chinese trade delegation was in Germany in March of this year for the purpose of negotiating a trade agreement amounting to two billion Deutsche marks. On February 5, 1951, *Pravda* in Moscow announced an agreement between East and West Germany for the exchange of steel products, bituminous coal and coke, electro-chemical goods, precision instruments and chemicals. The total amount involved was scheduled to reach 340 million Deutsche marks.

The West Germans now seem to be making half-hearted attempts to crack down on the shipment of strategic materials to the Soviet-dominated countries, perhaps because they have learned that a Senate subcommittee headed by Sen. Herbert O'Conor (D, Md.) is inquiring into the matter. It is not likely, however, that efforts of the Adenauer regime will seriously upset the existing pattern of economic neutrality which, at present, is bringing big profits to the German industrialists.

West Germany has become the Achilles heel of US efforts to prevent strategic materials from reaching the satellite countries. It is doubtful whether any measures short of restoring Allied control over the export of goods will be effective. Much of the economic rationale of Germany's trade with the East would evaporate if West Germany sincerely undertook its obligations to become an integral part of the Western defense system. But there is no evidence as yet that the German leopard is ready to change its spots.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *"Justice" in a Deep Freeze*

SO FAR as our American Indians are concerned, Commissioner Dillon Myer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a Hitler and a Mussolini rolled into one. He is judge, jury, keeper of America's conscience and high executioner. The smaller the pond in which he wields his despotic power, the greater the size to which he attempts to blow himself up. The Bureau presents a strange anomaly because it is in the Department of the Interior of which Oscar L. Chapman is Secretary; and Chapman's prestige is based upon the reputation that, as Assistant Secretary, he built up by his fair and just attitude toward minority groups.

Indians have a right to appeal to Secretary Chapman from the capricious and tyrannical ukases of Commissioner Myer, but they have to go through Assistant Secretary Dale Doty or are referred to a committee of which the chairman is Assistant Solicitor William Flanery, with the result that an appeal is equivalent to storing the wrong inflicted by the commissioner in a deep freeze for an indefinite period. In other words, while Mr. Myer may be ultimately overruled, as he has been in the past, it is only after the injustice of which he has been guilty has been endured for troubled months by the Indians who have been wronged.

In view of his previous fine record in Indian affairs, it may be that Secretary Chapman is not cognizant of the "buck-passing," the dodging, the hidings-out, the evasions, the slamming of doors and the downright untruths that garnish the maladministration of Indian affairs in the Department. Chapman should be aware of Myer's arrogant misbehavior which is tarnishing the fine record in Indian affairs that he made as an Assistant Secretary. Chapman runs the risk that, unless he takes over personally the administration of Indian affairs from the clumsy hands of Commissioner Myer, Assistant Secretary Doty and others, the creditable record that he had when he became Secretary will have to be revised into one of which his friends will not be proud.

Commissioner Myer's disdainful disregard of Indian rights cannot be told in one column. But a start can be made by giving one example, out of many, of cruel manhandling of Indian affairs. As this is being written, four Standing Rock Sioux Indians from North and South Dakota are being given a "run-around" in the Interior Building. They came to Washington more than two weeks ago at the expense of their tribe to ask, not for money or favors from a truculent commissioner, but for the right, with their own money, to hire their own lawyer, whom they trust, to represent them in negotiations with the government involving many millions of dollars. With dignity, they presented their case to Commissioner Myer and when he rebuffed them, they appealed to Assistant Secretary Doty. "We need a lawyer to defend us against the government's attempts to take our lands, and against other attacks on our rights," they urged.

Some eight months ago, this Sioux tribe and the lawyer referred to, who is of good repute and expert in Indian law, entered into a contract satisfactory to themselves, which Mr. Myer arbitrarily refused to approve, thereby imperiling important property rights of the Indians. With time running short, in desperation the tribe sent this delegation to Washington; the only satisfaction that its members have gained to date is that they have become acquainted, at close quarters, with the operation of the "double cross." Apparently, Commissioner Myer finds a satisfaction in forcing the hill to come to Mohammed, and it is likely that, before long, he will have other similar satisfactions because a number of other Indian tribes are in precisely the same Myer-embrace-of-death in which the Standing Rock Sioux find themselves. An appeal was taken from Myer, and the Indians were promised a decision on Friday, April 27. That promise was not kept. Instead, on the date mentioned, the Indians were referred to Assistant Secretary Doty, who promised action the following Monday or Tuesday. On Wednesday, these oldest Americans were advised that the matter was still in Doty's hands. On going to Doty's office, they were told that this was not true. Dejectedly, the Indians decided that, "We certainly seem to be getting a 'run-around'."

On their last visit to Assistant Secretary Doty's office, the Indians were assured, "I have filed my recommendations." The Indians, who are usually stoical, but who have a keen sense of humor, although this is not always realized by "superior" white people, burst out laughing. Mr. Doty was nonplussed and displeased. After all, why should mere Indians laugh aloud, apparently without reason, and perhaps with a touch of derision, in the presence of such an important public official as he? In relating this incident later to a more friendly and more understanding white friend, they explained: " 'I have filed my recommendations.' This is the same reply that we get from the reservation superintendent, from the area director and from Commissioner Myer."

This would seem to be a case to call for Secretary Chapman's personal attention. And there are others.

HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

TWO PRESCRIPTIONS FOR A SICK WORLD

by Frederick Kuh

PEACE CAN BE WON, by Paul G. Hoffman (Doubleday; paper, $1; cloth, $2.50).
UNITE OR PERISH, by Paul Reynaud (Simon & Schuster; $3).

TO A LESS CIVILIZED man than Paul Hoffman, former ECA administrator, the Marshall Plan would have been a tempting instrument for interfering in Europe's internal affairs in a big way. Appearing before a Senate committee three years ago, Hoffman was outspoken in his opposition to Britain's nationalization of her steel industry. Yet he meticulously abstained from using Marshall aid to try to influence Britain's decision. Had he interfered, he would have succeeded only in rallying waverers to the Labour Government's program and in kindling anti-American resentment among British socialists.

By refraining from meddling, Hoffman will have made it easier for the Conservatives to repeal the steel-nationalization law without branding themselves as American cat's-paws. They are pledged, if they win the next general election, to return the steel industry to private ownership. Even before Aneurin Bevan resigned from the cabinet the other day, the odds favored a Tory victory at the polls. Now the outbreak of dissension inside the Labour Party on the issue of Welfare State v. Armaments has further boosted Churchill's chances of regaining the premiership before his seventy-seventh birthday next November 30.

Hoffman's policy effectively countered Soviet propaganda against the European Recovery Program. In June, 1947, Molotov stalked out of the Paris meeting which was to eventuate in the Marshall Plan. He did not quit without an explanation, as Hoffman mistakenly writes in his able book, *Peace Can Be Won*. Molotov gave the motive for Russia's refusal to join the recovery project when he damned it as a plot to undermine the sovereignty of European nations. Moscow blundered. Had Russia participated, she could have thrust upon Congress the onus of blackballing the USSR from the Marshall club.

There are a few exceptions to Hoffman's creditable record of non-intervention. One of them is the reputed role of ECA in discouraging a genuine land reform in Italy, on the ground that parceling out the big estates would have diminished farm output. The timid reform since attempted has let the large estates survive. Together with absentee landlordism, particularly in Sicily and Southern Italy, this is perpetuating a system that feeds Italian Communism, already strong.

One misses in the tales of Hoffman an assessment of rearmament's effect on the economic comeback which Marshall aid promoted. Does he realize the extent to which swollen military budgets are lowering consumption and arresting the improvement of living conditions in the Marshall Plan countries? He devotes three pages to discussing the French Communist Party's propaganda and implies that large sums, including Soviet money, account for the formidable strength of Communism in France. Yet he must know that the average French industrial wage of about $15 a week has something to do with it. He has surely heard of the widening wage-price disparity there. Did nobody ever tell him of the wholesale tax evasion by the big fellows in France, contrasted with the compulsory withholding tax imposed on the little man? He is also bound to be aware of the alarm stirred by our decision to rearm the Germans. These manifestations, and not Red gold, have given Communist propaganda in France the openings of which it has skillfully availed itself.

Hoffman believes the Kremlin is conspiring to become master of the world, yet his readable, informative book is above the fashionable hysteria-mongering. He has no magic password for winning the peace. His formula is there for all to see in the Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, Schuman Plan and European Payments Union. His recipe is: remove tariffs before mixing European industries in one saucepan and then serve in a single, mammoth mess-hall accommodating 260 million consumers. He would raise productivity by modernizing and enlarging plant. Hoffman supports the Truman-Acheson policy of forcing the pace of preparedness and buttressing the Atlantic treaty by harnessing Germany to the West's defense.

While Hoffman's favored remedy is a unified Western European economy, the former French Premier, Paul Reynaud, in his *Unite or Perish*, puts the political federation of Europe first. From these two books the American Republican industrialist emerges as more progressive than the "modern" French politician.

Reynaud had five years in Nazi and Vichy prisons to ponder what to do about Europe's woes. I would not like to suggest that he should go back for another whirl of meditation at the rock-pile, but he certainly ought to think again or perhaps just start thinking.

His remedy offers nothing original. Like Hoffman—and the reasonableness of this is beyond dispute—he wants a single, tariffless European market. He wants the nations of Europe to merge into a federation, an idea which has been discussed sporadically for 650 years. Reynaud's Europe is to be "the third giant" alongside the American and Soviet colossi. He rejects neutralism and supports Western Europe's complete alignment with the US. Reynaud's spine must ache from bowing before American capitalism.

Upon what sort of social and economic system would his United Europe rest? To the millions of Europeans

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

living in bleak, substandard conditions, he would open the door—to what?

He rejects state controls. He shows his deep distaste for the British Labour regime. Because American machinery is replacing manual labor Reynaud bemoans the lost competitive advantage which low wages once gave Europe. He seems to drool with envy at the 54-hour work week in Adenauer's Germany.

He thinks Europe has said goodbye to imperialism. He reveals no awareness of the struggle by which Indo-China has wrung a modest installment of self-government from a reluctant France. He boasts of the white man's minimal improvement of colonies' roads, bridges, rails, irrigation and medical services without realizing that this dinky price has failed to compensate for robbing the natives of the natural wealth of their homelands. He need not return to his prison cell to read the British historian, J. A. Hobson, who 52 years ago punctured this defense of imperialism.

To give independence to the colored peoples of the empires, he argues, would be premature and would "throw them under communist domination." If one accepts Reynaud's logic, then by giving them their freedom Britain must have tossed India, Burma and Ceylon to the Communist wolves. It's the first we've heard of that and M. Reynaud is welcome to this whopping scoop.

He is an admirer of the planless economy of Western Germany. Rationing by the purse, low wages and a couple of million unemployed in the Bonn republic are ingredients of that system.

Reynaud's bitterest words, except those directed at Communism, are reserved for Jules Moch, the French Defense Minister, whom Reynaud disdainfully quotes as having said that a coherent military policy should include full employment, decent wages for labor and a campaign for better housing.

One finishes Reynaud's book with the feeling of having watched him undress in public, a singularly unappetizing spectacle.

Frederick Kuh returned to this country recently after 32 years abroad as correspondent for the United Press, the London "Daily Herald" and the Chicago "Sun-Times." He is now Washington correspondent of the "Sun-Times."

ETERNAL RUSSIA

JOURNEY FOR OUR TIME, by the Marquis de Custine. Edited by Phyllis Penn Kohler (Pellegrini & Cudahy; $4).

ADOLPHE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE, whose father and grandfather were executed during the Terror of the French Revolution, was in his own time (he lived from 1790 to 1857) a well-known author and traveler. His novels and his reports from trips to Britain, Italy and Spain were translated into several languages. He reached his greatest fame with the account of his visit to Russia in 1839. Under Nicholas I this vast empire at the border of Europe was almost as secluded from the West as it is under Stalin today. Its mysteries attracted the visionaries of the Right as today they attract those of the Left. The Marquis de Custine, whose unhappy family memories of revolution had been reinforced by the events of July, 1830, went to Russia as to the Mecca of order which would protect civilization against the chaos of revolution. He came back bitterly disillusioned and with a fresh appreciation of constitutional liberty.

His book created a sensation in Europe. It revealed a reality hardly suspected by the public. Custine was a keen observer and a brilliant writer. The present shortened version, prepared by the wife of an American diplomat who has recently lived in Moscow and introduced by Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, makes absorbing reading. It ranks easily with George Kennan's *Siberia and the Exile System*, which came in 1891 as a similar eye-opener to the West and also merits reprinting.

Custine depicted the backwardness, servility and arrogance of the Russia and the Russians of his day. Practically everything he observed in Russia in 1830 can be observed there today. The heritage of Byzantium and Moscow prevailed against the thin veneer of Europeanized Petersburg. Terror destroyed security of law and freedom of thought. The drabness and unhappiness of life was made bearable only by an unequaled superiority complex and distrust of everything European. The contemporary reader, startled by a surprising similarity between Russian attitudes then and now, will ask himself whether Russians have always been like that and whether Stalin's Russia can be excused and explained as a combination of the Russias of Ivan IV and Nicholas I.

Such an attitude overlooks what is the most disheartening and tragic aspect of Lenin's overthrow of the burgeoning liberal order in Russia. After the death of Nicholas I, which coincided with the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War, a new epoch began for that unfortunate land. Its gifted and long-suffering people entered under the more benevolent reign of Alexander II into closer contact with the West. From Europe the new concepts of liberty under law, of an open society and of individual initiative began to permeate and transform Russia. The Russia of 1910 still bore some external resemblance to the Russia of Custine, but inwardly it was in the midst of a moral and intellectual transformation. A new type was emerging, Russian citizen and European man at the same time. This mighty spiritual revolution was halted by the Bolshevik triumph. It again severed Russia from Europe and brought the unhappy land back to the times of Ivan IV and Nicholas I. Custine's brilliant and indispensable book will help the present generation to understand Bolshevik Russia. But it must not be forgotten that modern Russian history has known happier times than the deadening tyrannies of Nicholas and Stalin.

HANS KOHN

Hans Kohn is a professor of History at the College of the City of New York and the author of "The Idea of Nationalism," "The Twentieth Century" and other books.

ITALY, WITH LOVE

THE VILLA DIANA, by Alan Moorehead (Scribner's; $2.50).

THE STRIP of fantastically beautiful shoreland between mountains and the sea from Sorrento to Salerno has a certain physical resemblance to parts of the coast of southern California. But, as Donald Chase Downes has pointed out, everything man has done to the Italian earth has made it more rather than less fit for human habitation.

Even now, when the Italians are per-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

force affected by what the author of *The Villa Diana* describes as "that indigestible mixture of feudal habits, Marxian politics, religion and the new dollar economy," Italy is still the land of man himself, of the rich humanities of the Italian temperament in the framework of the greatest beauties both of nature and of the creative capacity of man's nature. It was a quality of joy and hope, of a perennial youthfulness in the nature of man when, no matter what his age, he is and feels himself most alive, that drew generations of foreign visitors to Italy in the centuries between Lorenzo di Medici's *Quant'e, bella giovinezza* and Mussolini's *giovinezza, primavera di bellezza.* Now the triumph of the inhuman and the anti-human that has made ours an age of poor expectancy for any, no matter how dubiously human, kind of life has given Italy and the Italians a different power of attraction. The country offers a quality of ageless reassurance of survival, unjustified perhaps by the reasonably calculated facts, but nevertheless communicating itself through the pores to the heart of any visitor.

Moorehead is in the grand tradition of foreign writers who have *con amore* absorbed some of the warmth of Italy and the Italians. It is basically the line (since there are others and older) that started in the first quarter of the last century with Stendhal, whose *Promenades in Rome* begins with a quotation from Shakespeare which no scholar has been able to find in any edition of Shakespeare. For Moorehead it is the feeling, rather than the hard fact, that counts; and though there are in his book, as in those of Stendhal and others, plenty of errors, the *ambiente* is right, emotionally convincing and, in my view, generally delightful.

The Villa Diana contains six personal sketches of Italian life, written between 1948 and 1950, that have already appeared in *The New Yorker*, and one other, previously published in *Contact.* There is also a 40-page study of Angelo Poliziano, the remarkable Renaissance figure who lived in the Villa Diana (located in a cool ravine about halfway up the steep slope of Fiesole above Florence), lately occupied by the Moorehead family. This last piece—it seems to me the best in the book, though all the others are charming—recently appeared as a *New Yorker* Profile.

The selections cover a wide range of the Italian earth, from Venice, Florence and Rome to Cassino and Sicily. Moorehead is at his best in "A Street Car Named Boccaccio" because in this chiaroscuro sketch of men, women and children far beyond the range either of psychoanalysis or of cybernetics, and of a region which "is perhaps the greatest heritage of the human intellect ever gathered together in one place," he is dealing with persons and places he knows best. The piece on Venice, "A Slow Sweet Poison," needs to be read with Hemingway, and the one on Rome with Tennessee Williams. The one on the bandit Giuliano, more simply journalistic than the others, has a footnote which accepts the false, official version of his death—Giuliano was in fact betrayed and killed by personal enemies, and Colonel Luca rates no credit for this specifically Sicilian finish to an episode Stendhal might have handled rather more sensitively. On the other hand, "Victory for Snail," on the Siena Palio, is the very best kind of literary journalism.

Unlike the Irish poet Sean O'Faolain, whose *A Summer in Italy* views and judges much of the same material "in depth" and with controversial passion, Moorehead takes everything lightly, with a Newyorkerish version of traditional British detachment. An Australian writing for an American (or rather a New York) public, he prefers to skate surfaces; the result is probably closer to what a cultivated, but not profoundly interested, American tourist could absorb for himself on a trip to Italy. *The Villa Diana* can be recommended for enjoyment; the sketches should be enjoyable not only to readers who know Italy little or not at all, but also to those who know it well.

A dozen drawings by Osbert Lancaster are brilliantly appropriate. Moorehead's picture of life in Rome stops short of Holy Year, but Lancaster's "Feast Day" and "The Road to Rome" in themselves bring the book up to date.

PERCY WINNER

FICTION PARADE

THE HAND OF THE HUNTER, by Jerome Weidman (Harcourt, Brace; $3.50).

A SHADOW OF OUR OWN, by Charles Locke (Scribner's; $3).

THE WELL-MADE NOVEL has fallen upon evil days. It is not that we have outgrown it so much as that we have been alerted to new forms of fictional expression and made hospitable to the sprawling and the formless.

Both Jerome Weidman's and Charles Locke's novels are tightly knit. They are

COMING JUNE 11

THE
Troubled Air

By IRWIN SHAW. A stirring and prophetic new novel by the author of THE YOUNG LIONS. $3.75

At all bookstores, RANDOM HOUSE, N.Y.

The extraordinary story of the man who was the crusading liberal governor of Minnesota in the thirties.
A candid picture of grass roots politics in a near-revolutionary era.

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF
Floyd B. Olson
By GEORGE H. MAYER
At all bookstores, $5.00
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concerned with the lives of a selected group in a sharply defined period of time. Weidman's story is limited to a few hours before the delayed sailing of a vessel, Locke's to the midsummer death watch at the bedside of a wise old matriarch. By the time the ship sails, the old lady dies, and the two books gracefully conclude, a certain number of incidents have occurred which change the lives of the participants and illuminate them for us.

Weidman is an urbane craftsman, and his Vincent Sloate, certified public accountant and satisfactorily married commuter, is an immensely sympathetic hero as a decent man on a wartime mission who suddenly becomes involved with a sinister and raffish group. But unfortunately Weidman has lavished so much attention upon mystifying his audience and building suspense from chapter to breathless chapter that our attention is centered upon the portentousness of the situation, and we emerge from the book with only a minimal interest in the character of Vincent Sloate. As with all mystery stories where we are led forward with tantalizing promises of impossibly exciting denouements, the letdown at the end is as unhappy as the air going out of a child's balloon. It is too bad because Weidman has the insights and the techniques of a true novelist, and because *The Hand of the Hunter* more than once trembles on the verge of becoming very good indeed.

A Shadow of Our Own is a substantial and mature novel. Charles Locke employs the deathbed reunion of an American family in a Midwest town to examine the individual family members, their relation to one another, and their individual problems, ranging from incest to extreme dependence upon the dying matriarch. Considering that this is a first novel, there is comparatively little that is banal or unassimilated, and if it does not drive very deep or soar very high, it does include a first-rate picture of an American town and tells a continuously interesting story. It seems a shame that painstaking and well-wrought novels like this should be allowed to sink like stones immediately upon publication, while more spectacular books are noisily launched and float about as long as publishers' advertising budgets can sustain them. Certainly Locke is worth watching. HARVEY SWADOS

MUSIC: Festival Time

With the May 1 opening of the Festival of Britain almost at hand, an air of cheerfulness pervades London. The electric signs are back on, after a long period of power-saving austerity. There is talk of doubling the meat ration. Even nature has co-operated; after four months of incessant rain, the sun has shone for five consecutive days.

On the South Bank of the Thames the new Royal Festival Hall, wedged in between Waterloo Bridge and a railway embankment, is being made ready for its heavy share of the 214 major concerts scheduled here in May and June. When the Queen's Hall was bombed to the ground ten years ago, the London orchestras had to move to the Royal Albert Hall, a Victorian monstrosity of circular design in which the details of a musical score are blurred by interminable reverberation. Sir Thomas Beecham once remarked that the Albert Hall is the only auditorium that enables the audience to hear a work twice at a single sitting.

The London County Council, which built the Royal Festival Hall, has endeavored to achieve acoustical perfection. Nearly every inch of the wall, floor and ceiling surfaces can be altered in ways that will increase or decrease the resonance of musical sounds. For the past two months the hall has been submitted to numerous acoustical tests and various changes have been made.

On April 15, Sir Adrian Boult and his London Philharmonic Orchestra played a test concert hopefully designed to prove that the hall was now ready for use. The result was disappointing. From the nineteenth row, where I sat at first, the tonal body was hideously distorted. Brass and percussion greatly outweighed the string section and made the woodwinds almost inaudible. The whole texture was brash and coarse. When I moved to the top balcony I found the tone clearer and better fused, but high frequencies were exploited at the expense of the base, as on a phonograph record that seeks biting brilliance at the expense of fullness of sound. All things may be possible to science,

Red and Black: Unblending Colors

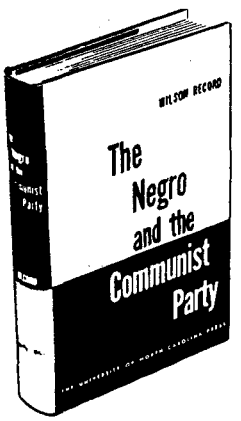
The Negro And The Communist Party

By WILSON RECORD

HERE IS the whole story of the dazzling joyride promised the American Negro by eager Communists—and of the patriotism and wisdom of the Negro's resistance.

For thirty years the Negro has been a major target in the Communist recruiting campaign. But the inconsistent, self-promoting Red strategists missed the bull's eye time and again. Wilson Record's study—of the constantly changing theories from the Kremlin, the sudden switches of the party line in this country, the slogans and campaigns, soft-peddling and compromise, and the incredible network of Communist-inspired organizations—shows exactly why.

Not since the Civil War has the Negro question been so important in national affairs. Honest and carefully documented, *The Negro and the Communist Party* is vital, timely reading. In the words of Walter White—"It is a magnificent job."



$3.50 at all bookstores, or order directly from
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Chapel Hill, N. C.
Chapel Hill

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but science will have to work fast if the hall is to live up to the expectations of festival visitors.

Many Londoners take a dour view of the building's future. Its location on the wrong side of the river calls to mind the spectacular error of Samuel Insull in putting the Chicago Civic Opera House in an out-of-the-way, derelict area. A good many people are already showing resistance to the notion of crossing the Thames to attend concerts. The members of the Music Critics' Circle are especially miffed because the festival management never answered its letter proposing that the hall be built on one of the many bombed-out sites in the heart of London.

In these last weeks before the opening of the Festival, most of the London musical organizations are presenting the tag-ends of a tired repertory, saving their novelties and fresh productions for the hoped-for influx of dollar-laden visitors. The Sadler's Wells Opera, however, jumped the gun. the first performance in Brita atya Kabanova," a 30-year-old y the Czech composer Leos Janac dolor- ous tale of a Russian wo whose guilt over an extra-marital li n leads her to jump into the Volga aft making a public confession in an old ruin on a rainy day, "Katya Kabanova" pleased the small musical cult that now, 23 years after his death, finds Janacek a wrongfully neglected genius. I found in the score more imitation Puccini and Sibelius than arresting individuality.

It was interesting, nevertheless, to see London's No. 2 opera house—the parallel to New York's City Center—in its best bib and tucker. Housed in a modern (1931) structure off to the northeast of central London, in an unsightly area of factories and rundown houses, Sadler's Wells is an intelligent Volksoper, employing competent but second-rank artists in performances that are adroitly and inventively staged.

The opera company shares the house with the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet, which is to make its first America tour this fall and winter. Not to be confused with the bigger and more celebrated Sadler's Wells Ballet, which performs at Covent Garden, the Theatre Ballet is a self-contained troupe with personnel and repertory that do not overlap those of the elder-sister company. Both groups are under the administrative direction of Dame Ninette de Valois and both are subsidized by the government-supported British Arts Council, but here the relationship ends.

In many ways I thought the Theatre Ballet more attractive than the Sadler's Wells company, which we have already seen in the United States. Its chief choreographer, 25-year-old John Cranko, has provided a wealth of bright materials. The dancers are young and eager, and obviously feel that the whole world is still open to them. I am sure American audiences will fall in love with Cranko's "Pineapple Poll," a blithely nautical closing piece based on one of Gilbert's "Bab Ballads" and danced to a pastiche of Sullivan tunes.

At Covent Garden, Frederick Ashton presented new choreography for "Daphnis and Chloe," but demonstrated once more what Fokine had found in 1912—that it is impossible to match Ravel's music with 35 minutes of equally scintillant dance ideas. As for the opera at Covent Garden, the less said the better. I have heard three performances; not one would be acceptable at the City Center, to say nothing of the much-maligned Metropolitan.

At this moment, the Covent Garden staff is preparing the world première of "The Pilgrim's Progress," a "morality" by Vaughan Williams, the doyen of English composers. With a libretto drawn from Bunyan, the work —parts of which I heard in a preview— has a devotional and almost liturgical scorn of theatrical effect. It is something of an English parallel to "Parsifal." But whether or not the piece proves a popular success, nobody questions its composer's right to a position of honor in Covent Garden's festival schedule.

CECIL SMITH

ART SCHOOL

WALLOOMSAC SUMMER SCHOOL OF ART. Classes through July and August. Write: George Holt, North Bennington, Vermont.

BOOKS

ATHEIST BOOKS, 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

MAGAZINES

NON-ATHEIST MAGAZINES, Protestant, help homes improve, **MY CHUM** children's magazine $2, sample 10c, same prices for **THE CHRISTIAN PARENT,** Box N, Highland, Illinois.

FOR SALE

"Living for Fun" Large homesite lot, riparian rights suitable for pier and yacht, near Canaveral Harbor Inlet. Title Insurable, Price Twelve Hundred Dollars, Terms. Donald F. Leyda, Registered Broker, Merritt Island, Florida.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis, Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $5.00.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! **Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency,** 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

SITUATION WANTED

DANCE DIRECTOR with extensive background and experience in folk and square dancing for summer camp or resort. Box 30. Tel.: Great Neck 2-0805.

RESEARCH SERVICE

INFORMATION pertaining to over 4,000 national trade, professional, and other types of non-profit organizations and associations in the United States. State field, etc., you are interested in. **RESEARCH,** P.O. Box 1326, Lexington, Kentucky.

MOVIES

Trivia

BURIED SOMEWHERE in the excellent photography of "The Brave Bulls" there appears to be a serious moral story; a man must struggle against his own protesting flesh to attain the spiritual ecstasy for which his soul hungers—or something. Unfortunately, Robert Rossen's movie of the Tom Lea novel is a confused and inconclusive piece of work; it talks a good deal about the problem but is unable to make it evident or important. Instead, Rossen resorts to the picture making—Mexico, Mexicans and paranoid bulls in this case—at which he is unexcelled. Mel Ferrer, an able, intelligent and honest actor, works hard at the part of the reluctant matador, but he seems unconvinced of the reality of his dilemma. The crowd shots, the dusty honky-tonk atmosphere mixed with the frightening smell of blood, are brilliantly conveyed. The scene was perfectly set, but the story never got told. And I am still not satisfied that bullfighting is a noble sport or that the bulls enjoy it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Thing, in the Howard Hawks drama of that name, is an eight-foot perambulating vegetable from "out there," considerably radioactive and subsisting on quantities of warm blood. It is as strong as a gorilla, grows new limbs at will, is impervious to bullets, reproduces with alarming rapidity as long as the blood supply holds out and has arrived at the North Pole in, of all things, a flying saucer. The scientist leading the welcoming committee declares that it has an intelligence far in advance of ours, but its behavior is markedly witless and, since the doctor himself seems to have slipped his pulley, the statement is unconvincing.

The New York theatre at which "The Thing" is shown employs a pretty girl in nursing garb to care for overwrought patrons, but I think the management underestimates the capacity of a metropolitan audience to withstand the spectacle of a large man swathed in bandages who pushes through breakaway scenery and emits hoarse grunts, This picture won't be really horrible until Abbott and Costello join the cast. And you can dismiss any reports you have heard about the maturity of "The Thing." Its sophistication consists in a reference to the superiority of the monster's vegetative sexual machinery (cries of "no, no") and one topical reference to Margaret Truman and her daddy.

In a prologue to "The Secrets of Mayerling" it is explained that this version of the notorious hunting-lodge tragedy is based on "documents newly discovered." The documents were not specified or handed about for the jury to inspect; the picture based on them is at the Sunday-supplement level of gossip-scholarship. In any case, the secret is no great surprise. It has long been suspected that Rudolph was assassinated for his advanced political views and that his little Marie was dispatched along with him to make the "suicide" look better. By now the urgency of knowing what happened that night at Mayerling has faded quite a bit and Jean Marais and Dominique Blanchar do nothing to rekindle curiosity. He looks and plays like an enervated Douglas Fairbanks Jr. (impossible to believe that this weary princeling made even a tottering empire tremble) and she flutters wanly against the bars of what seems to be the most tepid grand passion in European court annals. The picture, under Jean Delannoy's direction, succeeds in making the court of Franz Josef as stuffy as it undoubtedly was. Sylvia Montfort, as Rudolph's neglected princess, flashes out with a dangerous personality, but she appears only momentarily in this musty romance.

If the British today make the best crime pictures, they also make the dreariest. "The Long Dark Hall" is one of the latter—a sententious tale of murder and infidelity, with a mad killer skulking conspicuously on the outskirts of the drama and an errant husband almost paying the wages of sin (the machinery of his eleventh-hour escape will send you howling into the street). Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer work themselves into a lather of charm in an attempt to inject some life into the lackluster plot; Raymond Huntley, one of England's most interesting actors, is stodgily employed as a police inspector. The obligatory courtroom scene is an interminable cliché of fumed oak, wigs and legal sarcasm.

We are all supposed to clap hands and beam over the Czech puppet picture, "The Emperor's Nightingale" (Hans Christian Andersen). Such skill, such taste, such winsome effects and pretty color mark it as a "better" film, and anyone who fails to applaud is dead to the art possibilities of the screen. I confess myself dead: seventy minutes devoted to the coy tricks of a company of Chinese dolls, with Boris Karloff reading a Phyllis McGinley narration in his fruity good-uncle voice, leave me feeling unnourished. Jiri Trnka's so-very-delightful fairy tale may be popular with children but I would want to get a child's endorsement before urging anyone to take the kiddies. The children I know object to being patronized and grow restive in an atmosphere of unrelieved sweetness.

ROBERT HATCH

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

RESORTS

on SCHROON LAKE
Opens May 25th
Special 5 Day
DECORATION DAY WEEKEND
Incl. Round Trip Transportation $57.50
LEAH OKUN, Dir.—City Phones: MAin 4-8570-1230

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation
Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts & Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hrs. by train from N.Y.
$50 for Opening Week June 23-30
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. R for Literature • Tel.: Hancock 98, Ring 13

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL 5-DAY ALL-EXPENSE
DECORATION DAY WEEK-END
LIMITED TO 100 DANCING AND ALL SPORTS
New York Office: 33 W. 42nd St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

OPENING MAY 25th
All Sports • Entertainment
Arts & Crafts • TV Room
Easy to Reach! Send for Vacation Guide
Chesters' ZUNBARG
Woodbourne, N. Y. • Phone: Woodbourne 1150

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90—14-mile Lake—Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Square Dances • Concert Trio
Dance Band • Bachelor Club Rate $60-$65
N. Y. Off.: 250 West 57th St. CIrcle 6-6386
Reduced Rates to July 10—Louis A. Roth, Dir.

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly, informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Opens May 11 Pre-Season $45 weekly, $7 daily
65 Miles From N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R.D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

SEMINAR

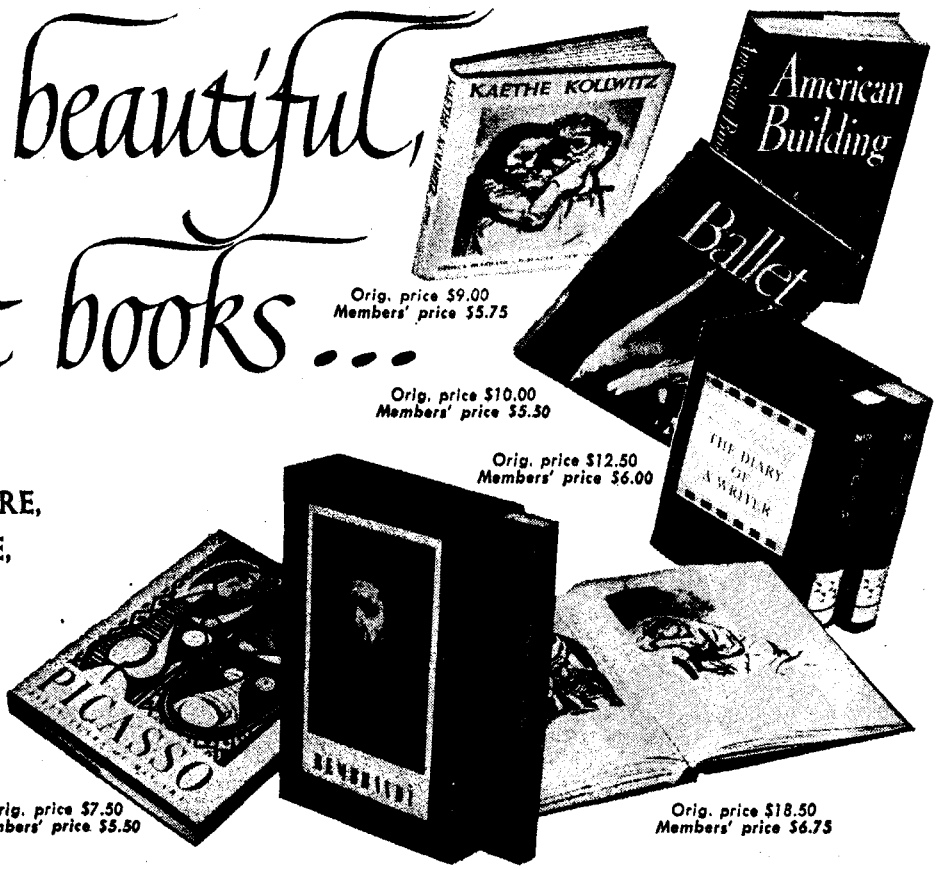
SUMMER OF 1951:
SEMINAR IN INDIA
PAKISTAN & CEYLON
Interview political, cultural, national leaders. Study social, economic, and political situation. By charter plane from San Francisco. Non-profit cooperative basis, about $1500 two-month cost.
Write: Dr. Alfred G. Fisk
San Francisco State College, San Francisco 2, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The most beautiful, the finest books...

IN PAINTING, MUSIC, THEATRE, ARCHITECTURE, THE DANCE, POETRY, SCULPTURE

The Seven Arts Book Society was formed to bring to a select and discriminating audience the finest books in the arts—



Orig. price $5.00
Members' price $3.00

Orig. price $9.00
Members' price $5.75

Orig. price $10.00
Members' price $5.50

Orig. price $12.50
Members' price $6.00

Orig. price $7.50
Members' price $5.50

Orig. price $18.50
Members' price $6.75

AT SAVINGS UP TO 50% OR MORE

Retail price $6.00

Retail price $7.50

RECEIVE *free* LIBRARY VOLUME

Just select your FREE Gift Book and your first selection from those listed in the coupon below.

Retail price $6.00

Retail price $6.50

Now, after one year—with a membership of over 13,000—we are able to effect even greater economies with no sacrifice whatsoever as to quality. Thus such a beautiful book as the 2-volume REMBRANDT, by Jakob Rosenberg (*Harvard University Press*), with one entire volume devoted to 281 full-page gravure reproductions, was published originally at $18.50, but as a member you pay only $6.75—an actual saving of $11.75.

To introduce you to the many advantages of membership in the Seven Arts Book Society, you may choose as a *FREE* Gift Book any one of such distinguished library volumes as THE LIMITS OF ART, containing in "one beautifully printed enormous volume those selections [of world literature] which competent critics have pronounced the very finest of their kind," (*Clifton Fadiman*), Retail Price $6.50; Merle Armitage's DANCE MEMORANDA, lavishly illustrated with over 250 photographs, Retail Price $6.00; Morris Davidson's AN APPROACH TO MODERN PAINTING, a lucid explanation of the origins and development of modern art, with 112 illustrations, Retail Price $6.00; or the fine volume on EDZARD, with 112 plates, Retail Price $7.50.

MEMBERSHIP in the Society is simple. Each month you will receive *free* the Seven Arts News, describing the forthcoming selection, and listing all other books available. If the selection is a book that you think would not make a welcome addition to your library, you send back a form (*always provided along with a prepaid envelope*), specifying some other book you may want. Or you may simply indicate, "Send me nothing next month." *Please remember that *you do not have to* take a book every month. You may take as few as four in an entire year and still enjoy all the advantages of membership. You pay only for the books you want – books of your own choice – and you save on every book you purchase.

SEVEN ARTS BOOK SOCIETY

THE SEVEN ARTS BOOK SOCIETY
401 Broadway, New York 13, N. Y.

DDR-1

Please enroll me as a member. I may accept as few as 4 books a year, which I may choose from the Society's illustrated Seven Arts News sent to me free each month. I may cancel my membership at any time after taking 4 books.

NAME_____
(Please Print)

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

Please send me as my free gift book

Also send me the book(s) checked below at the special member-ship price (plus 24c postage and handling).

	List Price	Members' Price
☐ DIARY OF A WRITER	$12.50	$6.00
☐ WOODCUTS OF ARISTIDE MAILLOL	18.00	5.75
☐ REMBRANDT	18.50	6.75
☐ KAETHE KOLLWITZ	9.00	5.75
☐ PICASSO—50 YEARS OF HIS ART	7.50	5.50
☐ BALLET	10.00	5.50
☐ AMERICAN BUILDING	5.00	3.00
☐ COMPLETE ETCHINGS OF GOYA	——	5.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED